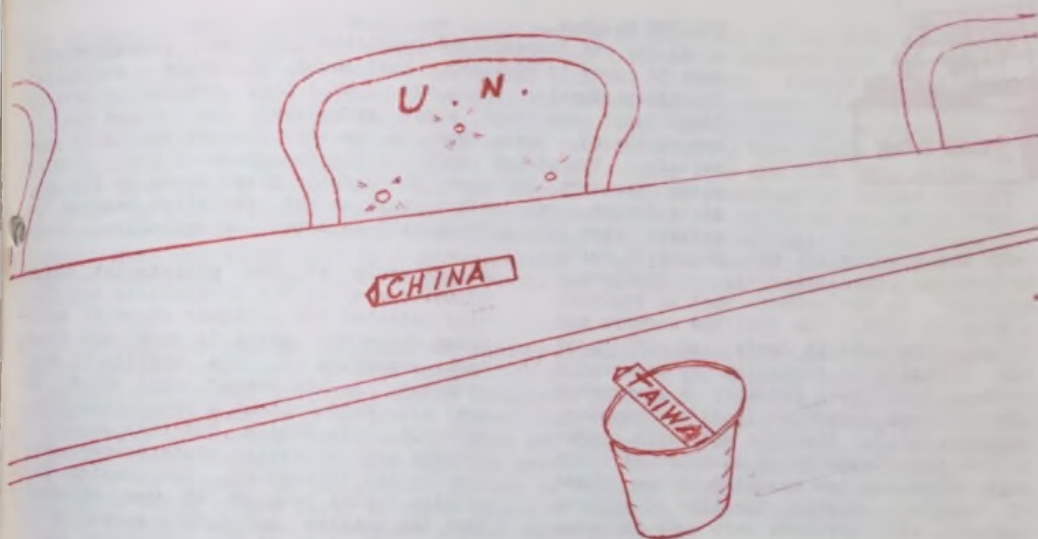


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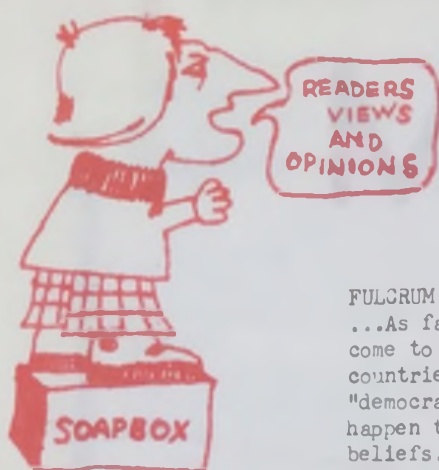
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A SEAT AT THE BARGAINING TABLE



FULCRUM is PUBLISHED 5 TIMES YEARLY by the
VICTORIA LOCAL, SOCIALIST PARTY of CANADA
P.O. Box 237, Victoria, B.C.

Printed by Socialist volunteers
Subscriptions: 8 issues - \$1.00

FULCRUM Soapbox

...As far as "democratic" countries you feel socialism will come to power by election. What about the state - capitalist countries--Russia, China etc. Will they eventually develop "democracy" and then elect socialism? If not now will it happen there? There seem to be some contradictions in your beliefs. You attack Lenin for his "vanguard of the working class theory". Yet when the working class moves on its own as in France - you reject this as not socialist because the workers were not sufficiently educated in socialism. Lenin

felt the purpose of the Bolshevik party before the revolution was to "patiently explain" to the workers -not to engineer a coup d'etat. He felt the workers had to be convinced in words and actions of the validity of socialism - democratic workers control of industry & government aimed toward communism (Marx's communism-not Stalin's). Stalin - not Lenin represented the tendency of dictatorial elite rule which has now resulted in new class of rulers. During the time of workers control, real advances were made in terms of human freedom and of course real democratic power (not false democracy like our bourgeois democracy.)

Another point- you believe that the state will die immediately after the revolution - not whither away. Circumstance in history show that capitalists just do not give up. - look at Russia 1917 Spain 1930's etc. - defense of the revolution is necessary and this necessitates organized bodies of armed men under democratic control in this case) which according to Marx is the essence of the state. At first with production so poorly organized some form of controlled distribution system will be necessary - money labor credit whatever. This will be abolished as soon as possible, when production is rationally organized. Marx himself talked of 2 stages of communism, the lower stage (often called socialism) with democratic

dictatorship of the proletariat which whithers away as the capitalists are finally defeated and a higher stage of communism where the state is gone and "from each according to his ability to each according to his needs" will reign. We are all fearful that a revolution might turn out like Russia but this shouldn't abandon any socialist state however democratic and transitory. The Russian revolution failed because it was -attacked from the outside and didn't spread which would have given it the industrial support it needed - not because of bad leaders with bad ideas (that would be an idealist theory - not a materialist theory).

Another basic disagreement I have is your lack of any transitional program. Reformers are not in and of themselves bad because they are co-opted. The point is how do we fight for reforms? Marx said that communists should support such things as minimum wages, maximum hour laws etc. - whatever would improve the lot of the workers. Why separate the reform of higher wages from the reform of a minimum wage law? Again how we fight is the key. If we teach people to demand reforms by marching in the streets and by using their greatest power short of armed force - the right to strike we are teaching them to get what they want. We are teaching them

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A SEAT FOR CHINA AT THE BARGAINING TABLE

After years of unsuccessful attempts the motion to provide China with a U.N. seat has finally succeeded.

The move is largely regarded as a signal defeat for the U.S. not because of China's admission, for the United States also favoured China's admission, but because of Taiwan's ejection.

The popular concept for the "Western" world keeping of China out of the U.N. was that it rested on the distasteful notion that China was a Communist country with all the tyrannic trappings that are usually associated with such a system. People who put forth this notion must be hard pressed to explain the United States support of countries such as Spain which although they have a different label the dictatorial content is such the same. Nor has an explanation so far been forthcoming that would give the reasons why so much overwhelming support for China's entry into the U.N. Has China suddenly developed a new system? Are the terrible evils of yesterday no longer evils? To arrive at such a ridiculous position should demonstrate the folly of analyzing from the mere surface level of labels without understanding what is actually behind those labels. What has given rise to a general change of attitude toward China can however be understood if one looks at past events and circumstances leading up to the present.

Prior to 1949 the economy of China was largely based on agriculture with the peasants mostly working on a basis of land tenure. In other words the society was largely feudal or semi-feudal with very little industrial production. Although the country was economically poor it must not be thought that China is lacking in resources. To the contrary the mineral resources of China are enormous. Coal and iron deposits are abundant often in close proximity with one another. The iron deposits near Hankow are among the richest in the world. Tin ore is abundant in Yunnan and even before the revolution China ranked first in world output of tungsten, second in antimony. Oil is also abundant and her rivers are a great hydro potential.

Of course the feudal relationship was an intolerable barrier for the full realization of China's industrial potential and when the United States upon tiring of the double dealing of Chiang Kai-shek, and ceased giving aid it was the opportunity for the Kuomintang and in 1949 they drove Kai-shek's forces from the mainland and entrenched themselves in power. Although the Kuomintang are referred to by themselves and others as "Communists" Their objectives should have been quite clear. The "Common Program" spelled out the objectives of the "Peoples Government" -- opposition to "imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism"; abolishment of "all prerogatives of imperialist countries in China"; confiscation of bureaucratic capital for ownership by the People's State"; transformation of "the feudal and semi-feudal land ownership into a system of peasant land ownership"; and transformation of "the country from an agricultural into an industrial country." (Funk & Wagnalls) What was occurring was what had already occurred in most countries -- China was having her industrial revolution -- a change from feudalism to capitalism and would be patterning herself along the lines of Russian state capitalism. It should be obvious that in specifying the confiscation of "bureaucratic capital" it can only be concluded that there were types of capital that were not to be confiscated and indeed reports have since come from China about capitalists who have their dividends guaranteed by the state. Of course peasant land ownership has nothing whatever to do with Communism/Socialism. It is not even compatible with modern capitalism but it was a concession that was necessary to retain the support of their peasant base strength but it is something the rulers will eventually have to attend to.

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A Seat For China - continued

Now the situation of U.S. non-recognition etc. arrives and the question of what it really meant. It should be clear that the U.S. ruling class don't give a damn about the atrocities against people. Indeed they have had their hand in a few themselves. And their sources of information should have been adequate that they would know that contrary to the crap they fed their own working class there was no real threat to world capitalism. Had there been they could have been expected to fight a lot harder than they did.

The real situation was this: U.S. capitalism was quite happy with a semi-feudal agriculturally based China - a source of raw materials and somewhat of a market for American industrial commodities. But what would an industrially developed China mean? All that mineral wealth combined with a huge working class that have long been used to miserable conditions represents a lot of cheap commodities competing with U.S. capitalism for the world market. That this was the issue and not the ideological front that is usually put up is amply demonstrated by the fact that Russia, who has the same state capitalist system, soon had her guns facing the Chinese border. So what this non-recognition business really meant in straight forward capitalist terms was -- We know that if China develops capitalist industries she will be competing with us on the world market so we are not going to sell her the motors and equipment to help her go into business against us.

So if this analysis is valid way is China now being invited to the world business counter -- the U.N.? Well two impelling facts have come into existence. First China did find countries who would do business with her and it is becoming increasingly clear that the U.S. stand is having little effect on China's march into capitalist production. Second the situation in the world has given rise to a glut of unsold commodities in the world. Capitalism's impelling drive to sell-sell-sell had forced first a trickle, then a rush, now a stampede of capitalist countries eager to make sales to their new exploiting brother.

Socialists cannot get very excited about China's inevitable seating at the world council of capitalism. It is nevertheless interesting in that future events should accelerate Capitalism's development there and give rise to its inevitable crisis which should provoke the working class into the political action necessary for capitalism's overthrow and genuine Socialism's initiation.

Larry Tickner

Victoria

SOAPBOX (continued)

that bourgeois democracy does not work and they must push and threaten to be successful. Consciousness does not develop in a vacuum (except for a few people to mainly intellectuals). People go by stages toward socialism as their struggle increases. Your approach to convincing people seems unrealistic. How do people go from obedient workers to socialists able to democratically control their own destiny by a single vote? They don't. People develop the ability to be democratic directors of their own destiny by stages - as they struggle for changes, create their own action organizations etc. People today are not ready for socialism for 2 reasons. Because they don't believe in it but also because they are not ready for the self-determination it gives them. If by magic socialism arrived it would be taken over by an elite because people today are not ready for democracy. They rise to develop this readiness through struggle against capitalism. You only attack one side of this problem which is ideas.

Also object to your One Party theory. This is the same theory the Stalinists have
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ANOTHER FALSE FACE OF MARX

The masthead of the Trotskyite "International Press" says it "specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black and women's liberation movements."

The inclusion of the word "Socialist" along with protest groups which are striving to get a questionable equality and freedom within the wages-prices-profit system is not Marxist, despite the journal's claim that its editorial opinion "expresses the revolutionary viewpoint of Marxism." It follows that since non-Socialist protest groups are pertinent to them, their concept of Socialism also leaves capitalism untouched.

By Socialism they mean reforms to capitalism after the manner of the utopians who were criticized by Marx and Engels in the preface of their Communist Manifesto "... who, by all manners of tinkering, professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social grievances..."

This use of some of the paraseology, without the substance of Marxism is practised by millions of sincere and others of seemingly not so sincere but religious crusaders against the mere effects of commercial society.

The Trotskyite section, along with the others, sees Socialist society as just a variation in the administration of capitalism. They do not comprehend the existing division of society into classes of owners and non-owners of the means of life, and the necessity of an authoritarian institution such as the state to co-ordinate the interests of the dominant class. They are oblivious to the function of the wages system for maintaining the subject class as a continuing source of profit to the masters of society. This non-working class consciousness of the Trotskyites finds them in most cases loyal to the national capital that reigns within the geo-political borders in which they happen to be exploited ready at any time, figuratively speaking, to snap their necks together, salute the military representatives of the local bosses and march off to war to protect what they think is their stake in "our" country. They prefer to ignore the bit of elementary Marxism that shows that the workers have no country.

It is not surprising that the Trotskyites thought Alexander Dubcek was a Socialist, instead of a western style liberal, or that the Bolsneviks had been building Socialism-Communism in Russia over the years, instead of State Capitalism.

POWDERED MILK AND OVERALS FOR THE CHILDREN

Another example of such political unconsciousness is the Trotskyite view of Salvadore Allendes' government of Chile. They admired Allendes' policy of "freezing prices, raising wages, subsidising public service rates at low levels and giving powdered milk, shoes and overals to children."

The point here is that state charity to help the most efficiently fleeced of the sheep has been a policy favored by capital elsewhere for a long time, if not in Chile. Incapacitated workers are useless as producers of profit.

As far as the antics of the Trotskyites are concerned, Marx and Engels might as well have used their time on some pursuit other than analyzing capitalism and attempting to explain it to the world's workers.

There is no way, inside of scientific understanding of capitalist economics, of think-
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Another False Face of Marx - continued

ing that nationalization of industry can help anybody except some sections of the owning class by way of reaping the interest on state bonds or by protecting that class as a whole against the depredations of others of their kind in certain key industries that may be vital to the interest of national capital, in this world-wide, class dominated society. Some of the richest men on earth looted the labor of the useful section of society, at least partly through government run business agencies.

Since the rich owners of Chile, local and foreign, that Allende is allegedly the enemy of, (according to the Trotskyites), have financial access to all the champagne they might desire, along with country homes, cadillacs, and freedom to work or not to work, within a wide range of activities, Allende did not find it necessary to bribe them with offers of powdered milk and overalls. And since his political gyrations may result in financial trade of some business institutions from U.S. capitalist ownership to Chilean capitalist ownership, with the former owners as affluent as ever, there is no point in offering overalls to the rich. Only to the people who are deluded into voting for them, and producing riches for them.

Hot lunches for the kids at school might be the next one in the bosses' bag of tricks to help keep the poor thinking that at least some politicians are out to help them. Allende, like all popular (for a time) administrators of the system, has no choice but to be a humble servant of those in control, the owners of the means of production and distribution. The system rides on the delusions of the working public. The world's workers do not need to have their confusion added to by Trotskyites under the guise of Marxism.

J.G.

MARTOV LOOKS AT THE NEWS

It is commonly held view of the so-called "Leftists" that the Communist block countries are "Workers' States". However, it does not explain such events as the December (1970) Crisis of Poland. Some have called the crisis a revolution against the Polish government while others say it was an attempt to re-establish "Capitalism". In the AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News of April, 1971 the list of demands of the Polish strikers was translated and printed. This document was prepared by the strike committee of the Warski Shipyard and the Repair Shipyard in Szczecin and was widely circulated among the people. It is reprinted below in full.

"DEMANDS OF THE WORKERS OF THE WARSKI SHIPYARD AND THE SZCZECIN REPAIR SHIPYARD

"We shipyard workers separate ourselves from all political and anti-state demands, our demands being founded only on economic grounds.

"The shipyard workers support with solidarity the workers on the entire coast, back their correct demands, and begin a sit-down strike with the following demands:

"1. We demand the resignation of the present Central Trade Union Council, which never defends the interests of the working class.

"2. We demand independent trade unions which will stand up for and support the working class.

"3. We demand a reduction of prices of foodstuffs to the level prior to December 12, 1970.

"4. We demand a wage increase of 30 percent.

"5. We demand normal pay during the strike period.

"6. We demand that all losses which workers have incurred as a result of the strike be reimbursed, and particularly that provision be made for all families who had members killed or injured in the disturbances.

Markov Looks At the News - (continued)

- "7. We demand that all workers who were arrested as a result of the disturbances be freed and that no legal or job action be taken against them.
- "8. We demand that all members of the Strike Committee and strikers not suffer any legal or job repression.
- "9. We demand no interference from military forces on work installations and will not permit the military to lower and damage their honor by dressing police in military uniforms.
- "10. We demand abrogation of the decree of December 17, 1970 regarding use of weapons.
- "11. We demand unreserved punishment of all those guilty of massacring workers fighting for their basic rights, and we will not permit defenseless workers to be shot.
- "12. We demand that all those responsible for the economic crisis of our country be punished without regard to their position in the party or government.
- "13. We demand that workers not be called scoundrels in the press, radio and TV and that all those who have called us by that name be strictly punished.
- "14. We demand that salaries of party and government members be limited and made comparable to average salaries in industry.
- "15. We demand that prices for meals in police and party canteens be as high as they should be in accordance with prices in effect throughout the country.
- "16. We demand creation of appropriate conditions for housing construction and a correct distribution of housing - with no regard to or privileges for certain social groups.
- "17. We demand that the administrative apparatus be reduced to a reasonable level.
- "18. We demand that the telephone blockade of Szczecin be lifted.
- "19. We demand to receive on radio, TV and press permanent and correct information on the country's economic and political situation.
- "20. We demand that the Sejm members from Szczecin voivodship led by General Jaruzelski come to see us in order to take care of our correct and basic demands.
- "21. When our demands are met, and made known by the appropriate authorities on radio, TV, and press, we will take up work again.
- "22. After our demands have been met, we will correctly and honestly go back to work."

Thus the Polish December crisis was a strike for moderate reform. It is unfortunate that the Polish Trade Unions did not heed the advice of K. Marx who wrote: "Trade Unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system. (Value, Price and Profit P. 127, Charles H. Kerr edition)

After the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the government introduced an economic reform called "The New Economic Mechanism" which introduced the principle of individual financial interest. This has led to an interesting development. The Social Review, the Communist Party's ideological paper for October 1970 wrote:

"As has been already mentioned, the reform has established a favorable basis for fundamentally positive moral attitudes. At the same time one can experience more signs of selfishness, money-grabbing, the misuse of confidence and of power, as in the past. We disregard the phenomena originated by the personality cult of the Fifties because we have overcome them fortunately, and therefore they cannot be objects of comparison. In our case we can only take into consideration phenomena making every honest man indignant. These phenomena have gained an increased place...We witness the spreading of chronically worsened relations...of bad qualities. It cannot be really assumed that those party bodies which tolerate among their members

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Markov Looks at the News - (continued)

anti-social attitudes, money-grabbing, the increasing of incomes without doing work, the misuse of power and actions violating the law, could successfully overcome these phenomena in their own territory. However, such phenomena have occurred unfortunately more and more in recent times...even among party members.

"At a time when accumulation has had the highest priority of society, asceticism should have been the most important virtue, the demand to give up the consumption of goods which have not been available anyhow. After mastering this situation individuals and even party members have become greedy and want to make up as rapidly as possible for everything which has been missed, and this endeavor is carried out if needed by unlawful and immoral means." (quoted in the AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News, August 1971)

It seems like so-called free enterprise capitalism is replacing state capitalism - at least in ethnics.

In the German Democratic Republic there are about 3,500 privately owned enterprises with between 10 and 70 employees and about 5,000 firms which are owned by the State and private ownership in partnership. An example of the latter is a glue factory in Berlin. It employs 50 people and its turnover is 4.5 million marks which will be expanded to 10 million marks by 1975. The State's partner is Herr Arnes who as managing director receives a salary equivalent to what he would earn in a State-owned enterprise plus one-half of the annual profit. On this profit he pays a 90 percent income tax. Private owners also pay a 1 per cent annual capital levy on the value of their assets over 20,000 marks.

Since the source and price of raw materials is predetermined as is the selling price of a firm's commodities, the only way to increase profits is by increasing productivity i.e. by increasing the amount of exploitation of the workers. To achieve this workers are given bonuses if the productivity target has been achieved. In one co-operative in Potsdam there is a competition fund out of which are made payments to individuals for the achievement of high quality of productivity. "It was blandly explained to me: 'We call this the Socialist competition principle.'" wrote British M.P. David Steel in the Weekly Guardian of Dec. 19, 1970.

The "Socialist" Competition principle exists in the Soviet Union. The Weekly Guardian of Oct. 2, 1971 printed an article by Gerald Segal entitled "Tempting the Soviet worker to work." As a result of the ninth Five-Year-Plan (1971-1975) directives - envisaging an increase of between 37 and 40 percent in national income of which 80 to 85 percent is to be derived from increased labour productivity, an undated decree of the Communist Party Central Committee for the improvement of "Socialist" competition was printed in all the main Soviet newspaper. The key paragraphs of Mr. Segal's article are reproduced below:

"In response to the challenge of market socialism which was rightly judged to be a threat to its leading role in society, the Soviet Communist Party has asserted direct control over management at all levels and is making widespread use of party-led 'socialist competitions' to raise production and productivity throughout the economy.

"A recent leading article in 'Pravda' after declaring that the snook workers are worthy examples for imitation and a stimulus to creativity, said: 'The bold use of the traditions of the factory collective, support for initiatives, publicity, and strict objectivity in interpreting the distribution of bonuses, living accommodation, visits to sanatoria and resorts - all this in the most direct way expresses itself on the mood of people and their work.'

"In other words as, in the crudest caricatures of the nineteenth century capitalist

Markov Looks at the News - (continued)

world, the real struggle is for material wealth and is such a struggle, particularly where there is no right to strike, the strongest are likely to come out on top.

"In fact, as the decree makes clear, the Rybinsk experiment notwithstanding, the Soviet working class as a whole is dragging its feet, aided apparently by management and the party in some cases. Thus the decree complains that the real labour contribution made by the competition is not assessed when it comes to disbursing the material incentive funds. Moreover the competition is being deliberately misused by the party and managerial authorities who are bidding with the State planners for a low targeted plan and then using the Socialist competition to overfulfill thereby earning bigger bonuses.

"The picture which emerges shows that the management incentives - productivity problem remains what it was in the years leading up to the aborted reform. The decree simply calls for a tightening up of the socialist competition methods which can hardly be a solution.

"Presumably, in view of the political consequences of the market socialism solution when it was tried in Czechoslovakia in 1968, one can hardly expect the Soviets to return to the spirit of the economic reform programs. It is perhaps more pertinent to speculate that the current attempts at detente are aimed at increasing trade and technological exchanges with the West, the ultimate purpose being to give the economy the productivity increase it needs and which the Five-Year Plan calls for."

Marx in Volume 3 of Capital pointed out that two peculiar traits mark capitalist production. First, that the prevailing and determining character of capitalist production is that of being commodities. Therefore, wage labour is the typical character of labor. Secondly, the production of surplus-value is the direct aim and determining incentive of production. Conditions exist in all countries of the world including the so called Communist nations. Engels, in Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, stated that the state would ultimately undertake the direction of production. In the same pamphlet Engels summed it up:

"But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts this is bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments, as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage workers - proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution. (P. 39 & 40, International Publishers edition)

SOAPBOX Reply - (concluded)

on blaming everything except the workers' class unconsciousness, for the ills of today. (See "Class Conscious Majority", Western Socialist No. 3/70). Space limitations do not permit full reply to all the unsubstantiated allegations. Suffice to say some contrary evidence is provided in our Declaration of Principles and present and past articles in this paper. Likewise the reason the other so-called Socialist Parties are not united with the Socialist Party of Canada is because their objective is not Socialism.

SOAPBOX - (continued)

(though I know you're very anti-Stalinist) and Leninists don't have. Lenin believed many parties should and would develop before and after the revolution. As you state in other areas parties represent sections of classes - not just complete classes. Why then shouldn't the proletariat have more than one party? This theory is the justification for repression in every state - capitalist country now. Besides I believe naming any party the true party is both arrogant and pre-mature. There are probably dozens of "true revolutionary parties" from the SLP to you to the Communist party. This just confuses people. People feel that if there are so many true parties, how can they decide the right one. Why not be one group that is building for socialism? Although I disagree with you I believe you are definitely a party of the Socialist movement. Why can't you say the same for me. I resent being told that because I don't belong to your party that I can't be a true socialist.

I don't know for sure your position on Women's Lib., Black Liberation etc. From what I gathered you see them as unnecessary and as false directions for people to take. I believe that people respond first to their special oppression and then go on to broader approaches so these and other similar movements are necessary and good. Within them of course we must constantly raise the necessity of socialism as a final cure for these oppressions.

A final question - What is your relationship to the U.S. Socialist Labor Party?

I wish you luck in convincing people for the worth of socialism.

FULCRUM reader.

REPLY

Our correspondent speaks of two stages of Communism-Socialism, a lower and a higher. And he says correctly that Marx himself talked of these two stages. "The lower stage, (often called Socialism)!"..(but not by Marx, the terms Socialism-Communism were interchangeable to him). Our correspondent gives two reasons for two stages - (1) to organize production and "some form of controlled distribution...money labor credits, whatever," (2) to defeat the capitalists and get rid of the state. Marx's basic reason for labor vouchers (in his critique of the Gotha Program) re his lower stage of Communism, was for the purpose of helping to enlarge the means of production to enable free distribution for all, in the event that the workers achieved power at that time. The needed expansion of the world productive apparatus has long since passed the point of ability to serve all, while the system is still hanging around. This lower stage is no longer necessary.

While the dehorned capitalist class will have to be kept at arm's length while the enlightened and controlling majority establishes Socialism, no lengthy transition period will be necessary.

Once the workers have won the election, that is control the state for Socialism, the struggle against the capitalist class is virtually over. (See the Western Socialist, No. 4/71, "Smashing Capitalism;" No. 3/71, "Anatomy of Revolution;" No. 1/71, "Our position on Violence;" No. 5/70, "Is Violence Necessary?"; etc. Also W.S. No 4/69 "Three Anti-Socialist Concepts".

There may be some reformers who are "fearful that a revolution might turn out like Russia but this shouldn't cause us to abandon any Socialist state however democratic and transitory." Their fears can be justified if they regard "Socialist" states as being on the road to Socialism, because this contradiction of terms resides only in the name. In reality they are the only kind of state possible these days -- capitalist states. And capitalism without civil rights is always possible given the system itself.

SCAPBOX Reply - (continued)

The Russian revolution did not fail -- it succeeded. Its broad support came from illiterate peasants who dreamed of such limited and capitalist objectives as bread and land. How could this revolution from feudalism to capitalism spread outside Russia to areas which had gone this route a hundred years earlier?

Our friend asks Marx to support him on reforms, but again, it is different stages of capitalism that he ought to be placing under his investigatory microscope. Marx was interested in seeing the development of the early and backward capitalism of his day, knowing that there could be no Socialism without a working class to get it first. And there could be no developed working class without capitalism, (just as there was none in Russia of 1917), as well as being interested in the revolutionary activity of explaining capitalism. Is it feasible to think that if he were around in today's integrated world economy with its massive productive forces and highly developed world proletariat, that he would be advocating reforms along side of basic change? The apple is now ripe enough to be picked.

"May separate the reform of higher wages from the reform of a minimum wage law?" Higher wages is not a political reform (assuming the falsity that wages, like prices of other commodities can be fixed by legal enactments). Sections of the capitalist class support minimum wage laws because they do not want the quality of labor power that they buy to fall below the point of no returns. With rare exceptions, they oppose higher wages (and you notice no laws institutionalising high wages?) because higher, or rising wages are basically contradictory to big profits. Moral support to unions and the economic side of the class struggle for maintenance of wages and present working conditions under capitalism is not a political reform.

"How we fight" is usually determined by what we fight for, and that is usually determined by what we know. "If we teach people to rely on politicians, we are indeed reformist." Not necessarily so. What kind of politicians? And what is meant by "rely"? The working public some day will have to send Socialist representatives to parliament, congress, the supreme soviet, what-have-you. And these representatives will have to be "politicians". This is where consciousness of the real interests of the wage-working majority differentiates between what kind of politicians are sent down to the head office of any capitalist state, and why they are sent. If the initiative comes from what the politicians told them, instead of what they told the politicians, then we know that the blame lies not with the politicians, but with the workers' unknowing support for capitalism at the polls.

Without the power of understanding their position in capitalism, the workers are not effectual in getting revolution or reforms. The big percentage of the world "take" of the total commercial class, that is used for propaganda to keep the workers politically childish, is not to be dismissed with another drag of grass.

"People" do not, in terms of black and white, "go by stages to Socialism as their struggles (for reforms) increase." They approach Socialism (revolution) as their understanding increases. They do not, naturally, transit from obedient workers to class consciousness by a single vote. Who said they did? They reach this point through the environmental pressures of capitalism, and the educational influences of Socialist parties. Our correspondent shows that such an idea is already in his mind partially, when he says: "'people' are not ready for Socialism because they do not believe in it"...more accurately, do not understand capitalism. That is why, if "by magic Socialism arrived, it would be taken over by an elite." That is why the only effective struggle against capitalism can be in the realm of ideas first. Political action without awareness, is only action for capitalism, as the near past so sadly proves. Our correspondent's letter, like the thinking of leftists generally, centres
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SOCIALIST PARTY of Canada

OBJECT:

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold:

1. — That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.
2. — That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
3. — That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
4. — That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
5. — That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
6. — That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privilege.
7. — That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
8. — THE COMPANION PARTIES OF SOCIALISM, therefore, enter the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and call upon all members of the working class of these countries to support these principles to the end that a termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

These 7 parties adhere to the same SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES:

- LEAGUE OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS — Wien XII, Wienerbergstr. 16, Austria.
SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA — P. O. Box 1440, Melbourne, Australia;
Sydney, Australia, Box 2291, GPO.
SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA — P. O. Box 237, Victoria, B. C.
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN — 52 Clapham High St., London SW. 4.
SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND — P. O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand;
P. O. Box 1929, Auckland, New Zealand.
WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND—53 High St., Rm. 5, Belfast 1, N. Ireland
WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF U. S.—295 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass. 02115.

Those interested in the Object & Principles of the Companion Parties of Socialism can obtain further information from the above addresses. or P.O. Box 237, Victoria, B.C., Canada